173 them with their magic arts, and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens." *

612 Like other Canarese people, the Badagas have exogamous septs or kūlas, of which Māri, Madhave (marriage), Kastūri (musk), and Belli (silver) are examples. A very large number of families belong to the Māri and Madhave septs, which were time after time given as the sept name in reply to my enquiries. It may be noted that Belli occurs as an exogamous sept of the Canarese classes Vakkaliga, Toreya, and Kuruba, and Kastūri is recorded in my notes as a sept of the Vakkaligas and Telugu Kammas.

361 342 The Badagas dwell in extensive villages, generally situated on the summit of a low hillock, composed of rows of comfortable thatched or tiled houses, and surrounded by the fields, which yield the crops. The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwellings under one continuous roof, and divided by party [363] walls. Sometimes there are two or three, or more lines, forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an 342 outer (edumane) and inner apartment (ozhaga or [343] ōgamane). If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding [562] milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house (hāgōttu), in which the milk is stored, and which [783] no woman may enter. Even males who are under pollution, from having touched or passed near a Kota or Paraiyan, or other cause, may not enter it until they 342 have had a ceremonial bath. To some houses a loft, made of bamboo posts, is added, to serve as a store-house. In every Badaga village there is a raised 349 platform composed of a single boulder or several stones [361] with an erect stone slab set up thereon, called sūththu

* Gazetteer of the Nilgiris.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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175 512 782 (233) to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in which the cattle have been confined, and, again addressing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing, and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

241 242 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well. On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

• 562 (462) "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his (465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male (464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on (262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

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562 better food to the male members of the family. This
[262] fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male
462 Badaga, too, works in the field, or at his own craft if he
562 is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that, even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages." Further, Mr. Grigg states that "as the men constantly leave their villages to work on coffee plantations, much of the labour in their own fields, as well as ordinary household work, is performed by the
[461] [583] women. They are so industrious, and their services of such value to their husbands, that a Badaga sometimes
462 pays 150 or 200 rupees as dowry for his wife." In the off season for cultivation, I am informed, the Badaga woman collects faggots for home consumption, and stores them near her house, and the women prepare the fields for cultivation by weeding, breaking the earth, and collecting manure.

651 In his report on the revenue settlement of the
656 Nilgiris (1885), Mr. (now Sir) R. S. Benson notes that "concurrently with the so-called abolition of the bhurty (or shifting) system of cultivation, Mr. Grant abolished the peculiar system in vogue up to that time in Kundahnad, which had been transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiris in 1860. This system was known as erkādu kothukādu. Under it, a tax of Re. 1 to Re. 1–8–0 was levied for the right to use a plough or er, and a tax of from 4 to 8 annas was levied for the right to use a hoe or kothu. The so-called patta issued to the ryot under this system was really no more than a license to use one or more hoes, as the case might be. It merely specified the amount payable for each instrument, but in no cases

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764 gaudy petticoats and smart turbans. "No woman," Mr.
[292] Natesa Sastri writes, "mingles in the funeral dance
if the dead person is a man, but, if the deceased is a
• [562] woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the
dead, takes part in it." But, at the funerals of two men
which we witnessed, a few women danced together with
the men. Usually the tribesmen continue to arrive until
2 or 3 P.M. Relations collect outside the village, and
advance in a body towards the car, some, especially the
sons-in-law of the dead man, riding on ponies, some of
them carrying sāmai grain. As they approach the car,
they shout "Ja! hoch; Ja! hoch." The Muttu Kotas
bring a double iron sickle with imitation buffalo horns
on the tip, which is placed, with a hatchet, buguri (flute),
and walking stick, on the car or on the ground beside it.
When all are assembled, the cot is carried to an open
space between the house and the burning-ground, fol-
lowed by the car and a party of women carrying the
baskets containing grain, etc. The car is then stripped
of its trappings, and hacked to pieces. The widow is
brought close to the cot, and removes her nose ornament
(elemukkuthi), and other jewels. At both the funerals
which we witnessed, the widow had a narrow strip of
coloured chintz over her shoulders. Standing near the
corpse, she removed a bit of wire from her ear-rings, a
lock of hair, and a palm leaf roll from the lobe of the
ear, and tied them up in the cloth of her dead husband.
After her, the sisters of the dead man cut off a lock of
(824) hair, and, in like manner, tied it in the cloth. Women
attached to a man by illegitimate ties sometimes also
cut off a lock of hair, and, tying it to a twig of *Dodonæa*
(783) *viscosa*, place it inside the cloth. Very impressive is
the recitation, or after-death confession of a dead man's
sins by an elder of the tribe standing at the head of the

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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764
(562)

The final death ceremonies, or korambu, are celebrated on a Sunday. Towards evening the house of the deceased is cleansed with cow-dung, and Badaga men assemble therein, sending away all women. The chief mourner, accompanied by two Badagas carrying new pots, proceeds to a stream, where the pots are cleaned with cow-dung, and rubbed over with culms of *Andropogon Schœnanthus*. They are then filled with water, carried to the house, and deposited in the milk-room. At the entrance to the inner apartment, five agnates stand, holding a circular bamboo tray (kerachi) made of plaited bamboo, on which the chief mourner pours a small quantity of paddy, and spreads it with a sickle. The widow and other female relations come near, and cry. A few sickles or knives (preferably those which were used at the funeral) are placed on the tray, which is saluted by all the Badagas present. The paddy is husked in a mortar, and the rice cooked with *Dolichos Lablab*, *Cicer arietinum*, and other pulses, without the addition of salt. Early on the following morning, the eldest son, taking a small quantity of the rice to the roof of the house, places seven balls made therefrom on plantain or minige leaves, and recites the names of the male and female ancestors and forefathers, his mother, father, and brothers. The remainder of the rice is eaten by relations. In some places, the whole of the rice is divided into seven balls, and taken outside the house. Water is sprinkled over the roof, and a portion of the rice thrown thereon. Standing up before the assembled Badagas, an elder says "To-day we have acted up to the observances of our ancestors and forefathers. New ones should not be considered as old, or old as new. There is not a man carrying a head (wise man), or a woman carrying breasts (wise

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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000 12. This usage accords with the definition in recent editions of Webster's *Dictionary*, e.g., 1967, 460. See below, p. 181, n. 2.

13. See below, pp. 223–225; also Diagram 9. There was supposedly a Christian community—but not necessarily of Badagas—near Avalanchi in the Kundena:ḍu division in medieval times: Finicio came in search of it, and the Todas have a legend about it; see Finicio, 1603, 719–720; Metz, 1864, 44; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 106.

14. Metz, 1864, 53. The correct name for Seringapatam is Sri Ranga Paṭṭana. On septs, see below, pp. 78–80.

15. The fact that Adikiris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Baḍagu is explained by their ready intermarriage with Gaudas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis; the Wodeas, Be:das, and Kumba:ras are mainly endogamous groupings.

16. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754; Francis, 1908, 131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73; Jogi Gowder, no date, 1; it is a Brahmin sept in Mysore.

17. Metz, 1864, 56; Macleane, 1893, 64. The same was true of Kaggusis; see below, p. 89.

18. Harkness, 1832, 106–107, note; Noble, 1976, 115–117; for Badaga polyandry, see Natesa Sastri, 1892, 754, 832, and Stuart, 1893, 243. Todas and Kurubas still practise polyandry; Thurston, 1906, 108–113.

614 19. Metz, 1864, 50–51; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 28. Adigaraṭṭi, derives from *adikari* ('powerful man') and *haṭṭi* ('village'). A variant of this legend has the early Adikiris following a chieftain named Kariabeṭṭa Ra:ya who, like Moses, was fated to lead them to the promised land without setting foot on it himself. After passing through Ha:sanu:ru to Nelliṭore and staying there for a time, they went on to Aṭṭupaḍi, at the foot of the southeast slopes, and some settled there. Their Lingayat descendants still inhabit that village but are now Gaudas. The chieftain led the remainder on to found another village called Nerben, in Kundena:ḍu; it no longer exists. After the chieftain had died there some of the settlers went on to Nedika:ḍ, near Adigaraṭṭi, and soon founded the latter village. Descendants of the chieftain's family and retinue thus came to be called 'powerful men' because of their association with him, in recognition of which the *janmis* gave them the duty of village magistrates.

● [562] 20. The pollution of having eaten meat can be removed from men alone.

000 21. Metz, 1864, 50–54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 73. The correct name for the outpost usually called Dannaika Ko:ṭe or Danayakan Koṭṭe is Da:na Na:yaka Ko:ṭe, 'the fort of the commander Dana;' Nicholson, 1898, 425–426. It was established in 1318 by Madappa Daṇḍanāyaka, who then was ruling over the Nilgiris and Wainad; Rea, 1910, 111; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 100. On Koḷḷandore, see below.

615 22. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 29–30; Karl, 1945, 2; the eldest, a cripple, settled at
175 Ćinna Kunnu:r. Among the very early villages in *Todana:ḍu* were Kaḍana:-ḍu, settled from Ka:rahaḷḷi (near Tagadu:r); Tu:ḍegu:r E:koni, from Kavaspadi (or Agasvadi) or else Tayu:r; Ćinna Kunnu:r, from Koṅgaḷḷi (near Ummattu:r); Ebbana:ḍu, from Urigaddige or Ho:sahaḷḷi; Ku:kalu, from Guṇḍuḷupe:ṭe; Honatale, from Honhaḷḷi; and So:lu:ru, from Su:lu:r. The earliest *Me:kuna:ḍu* villages were Me:lu:ru, settled from Urigaddige or Veḷḷa:ḍi; Tu:ḍu:ru, settled by the fourth of seven brothers from Poraṅga:ḍu and later deserted; Ta:mbaṭṭi, also settled from Poraṅga:ḍu; Ki:ru:ru and

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174 couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago 178 adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of 615 priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite (177) ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal 615 model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the (121) Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary (564) marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

• 562 Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social (615) status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of (582) the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she (562) marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

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562 582 concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

582 604 Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will [178] [583] take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's [184] daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's [578] [596] aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

582 583 628 A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a [558] daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

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dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwṭḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṉṉa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

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614 11. Ward, 1821, lxxi, Hough, 1829, 88; Metz, 1864, 54; Grigg, 1880, 221; Francis, 1908, 131. The claim was based on their membership in the Brahma sept.

000 12. Kittel, 1894, 1650, gives the Kannada *Hāruva* as meaning 'Brahmin'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 273, n. 3366, translate it as 'Brahmin' or 'seer'.

262 13. Benbow, 1930, 9. This claim is dubious, since the pollution of meat normally
562 cannot be removed from a woman, only from a man.
183 14. Metz, 1864, 50-51, 63-64; see above, 21, 41. *Adikari*, meaning 'powerful man', was once used as the title of a village headman or magistrate appointed by the local chieftain, acting for the ruling power in Mysore.

614 15. Since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the *linga* again.

16. Most Badagas now consider these Adikiris as Gauda, as they do Be:das and Kumba:ras.

000 17. An art they are said to have taught the Kotas.

18. Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 176; see above, 32-33. The Toreas of Ha:sanu:ru now intermarry with those of Mysore.

615 19. See below, 123. Belli Gowder, 1938-1941, 11, gives his gratuity at a funeral as 'a sum of Re. 1.25 along with ten measures of rice'.

20. Harkness, 1832, 109; Breeks, 1873, 14. It may be that these writers confused the Toreas with Kaikolans, however: twelve male and nine female Kaikolans were enumerated in Todana:du early in 1821; Grigg, 1880, 26. They were a low-status caste of weavers and musicians from Coimbatore, some of whose women were dedicated in a temple to the art of prostitution; Thurston, 1907, 29-30; 'Miles', 1951, 200-202.

609 21. Here a note about commensality with other non-Badagas. Wodeas and other Lingayats never allow a Nilgiri tribesman to enter beyond the veranda; neither may any non-Lingayat visitor from the plains enter. Ha:ruvas and all lower phratries permit Todas and until recently Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room. Kotas and any lowlander thought to be a Hindu untouchable are too polluting to be allowed past the veranda.

[p. 98 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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French-supported film factory and a protein products factory, supposedly to improve farm productivity and employ the pool of Badaga graduates.

MODERN LAWS

Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the modernization of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we need review only briefly.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on Badagas since there was never any interdict against remarriage of their widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, has always been ignored by Badagas, and the women have never challenged their traditional treatment: the property is only inherited by males. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, receive due recognition from Badagas: marriages are still not always monogamous and are sometimes contracted with grooms below eighteen or brides below fifteen. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples and are normally served with separate 'untouchable' glasses when they drink at a village teashop. People in Nilgiri villages may not be ignorant of such legislation, but there certainly remains some resistance to the idea of integrating the official system of law and administration into Badaga culture. Even more resistance can be found among the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas.

NOTES

1. Meaning, respectively, Toda division, Western division, Europeans' division (from *ferangi*, 'Franks') and peak division (from Tamil *kuṉṟu*, 'mount'). Why one division should have been named after Europeans is not clear, unless it be a reference to seventeenth-century Jesuits who may have entered this area from Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya, where they were then active; Société des Missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. xii, 234–235. The name is certainly ancient. Grigg, 1880, 13, n. 1, and Macleane, 1893, 678, derive this name however from Tamil *periya Raṅga*, 'great god Raṅga,' who is worshipped in this area; see above, p. 127. Throughout the nineteenth century these territorial divisions were adopted by British administrators, but in 1882 they were superceded by the three *taluks* (Gudalur, Ootacamund, Coonoor) that are still recognized today.

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[6] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu,* is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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threshold first; to plant the left foot before the right would bring the ceremony to a most inauspicious end.

Even though the ceremony has concluded, the men who have performed in it take various precautions to insure that they retain their state of purity for the remainder of the day. The meal that they eat is a vegetarian one; thus they avoid polluting themselves and their houses by having meat cooked on this occasion. To start the meal with butter is very auspicious, since eating butter is in Badaga thinking a sign of affluence and good luck. When the men have finished the meal they are careful to wash in cold water—the prescribed means of washing whenever Badagas wish to remain in a pure state. Afterwards they can clean and repair the cattle shed if they wish, for this is a meritorious act performed in a sacred place. Otherwise the only permitted activities are the cleaning of their clothes and of themselves.

Finally, we must consider the social relations which are given expression during the ceremony. The various sources of the community's welfare and of its power structure are reflected in the ceremony, albeit in symbolic reference. The family is represented usually by its male head, otherwise by a chosen male representative. The lineage is nowadays symbolized in the common pit used by all the cattle of each lineage. The entire hamlet community is represented in concerted action by the party of men who come from every household in the hamlet, as well as by the man from the Great House who is the living descendant of the founding ancestor.

One curious element is the habit of feeding each celebrant afterwards in the outer, less sanctified, room of his house. Men regularly eat in the inner room; the people who normally must eat in the outer room are the women and all visitors from lower-status phratries of the Badaga community. It would seem that the man who gives salt to his cattle is confident of his own ritual purity and that of his entire house on this occasion. By eating in the outer room he suggests that status differences between men and women, and between his phratry and others, are of no importance provided ritual purity prevails. This attitude is also reflected in other aspects of Badaga culture: people of higher and lower ranking clans intermarry, both hypergamously and hypogamously, and members of lower ranking phratries sometimes participate in the temple rituals of higher phratries without polluting the temples.

Women are excluded altogether from the salt-giving ceremony, if only because there is a risk that the presence of a ritually unclean woman might subvert the benefits looked for from God on this auspicious occasion. And yet the women do play a necessary "backstage" role in cleaning the house, decorating it, bringing in water, and cooking the meal. Segregation of women from the ceremony underlines a basic fact of hamlet organization: the hamlet is exogamous, and hence all wives in it are "outsiders," members initially of other hamlets. Furthermore, women inherit neither land nor cattle. Symbolically the ceremony concludes an annual pact between the men and God for the fruitful blessing of crops, cattle, and children, all of which in Badaga law belong to men alone. Even so, the oldest woman

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

562 796 in each family acts out the ritual of inquiring after the cattle when the salt-giver returns home. Her questioning of him, her standing inside the kitchen, her hanging up of the three sprigs, her cooking with the special salt, and her feeding of this man before the others constitute a reaffirmation of her household role: she must keep the house tidy, cook the meals, and be solicitous of the man's needs and interests.

622 796 (554) The hamlet headman (who is normally one of the participants in the ceremony) yields precedence to the leader from the Great House on this occasion. The head of each Great House is a kind of priest, while the hamlet headman is essentially a secular official. The headman is responsible for whatever small arrangements are required in staging this ceremony. It is he who should send a message to the relevant Toda friends telling them when the ceremony will be held, and it is he who is responsible for deciding [554] when to begin the procession out of the hamlet. Normally a headman may (576) wear a turban at all times, but on this particular occasion he wears no turban, out of deference to the man from the Great House, the representative of the village's origin.

178 648 The Todas are bound to Badagas by a very complex system of exchanges (Rivers 1906). In the days before a Nilgiri market was opened, the Badaga salt-giving ceremony was the major source for salt needed by the Toda tribe. Today the gift of salt to Todas is still a recognition by Badagas of the help the Todas extend them in various matters connected with herding.

796 648 Kotas, unlike Todas, are considered a polluting tribe, and consequently the Badagas do not invite them to attend this auspicious ceremony. Yet the ties that link Badagas with Kotas are even closer than those with the Todas, and at every point in the ceremony the help of Kota craftsmen is evident. The iron bar (*'ha:re*) with which salt is powdered is made by Kotas particularly for this use; the iron rod (*'uppu'kol*) carried to the stream—which now serves no utilitarian purpose—is made by Kotas; the pot used in the ceremony was traditionally a Kota product although nowadays metal vessels from the market are often used instead; the small knife (*'uppu 'katti*) used in cutting the branches still comes from the Kotas; the hoe and any other tools used in digging the pits are made by Kotas; and the pot in which the meal is finally cooked was traditionally theirs as well. The cattle shed and pen would also have been constructed initially with [178] Kota help. Today, consequent upon a rift in 1928 between the Kotas and most Badaga hamlets, there is much less insistence that Kota products be used in this ceremony, but up to that time such insistence was the rule.

796 In summary, the salt-giving ceremony is one in which each Badaga hamlet expresses its hope and expectations for the bounties that come in the form of cattle, harvest, children, the village society, wild Nilgiri vegetation, and relations with the Toda and Kota tribes. To have the maximum effect in promoting these benefits ceremonially, the participating men put themselves into a state of ritual purity and take great care that nothing inauspicious foil their purpose on this day.

121 796 We can explain the structure of the salt-giving ceremony by reference to certain principles underlying the structure of Badaga society. The per-

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

> function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations. Hence a single event may evoke a number of different and contradictory beliefs among different persons. (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 540)

Much the same thing could be said of Badaga medicine. It is much more of a craft than a science, a fact that Weber recognized long ago as characterizing Indian therapy in general: "Medicine. . .in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation" (1930: 14).

The very fact that Badaga therapy has some of the characteristics of an art allows each therapist to elaborate the system in her own creative way wherever she sees a benefit in doing so. This brings us to a most important theoretical topic that should be central to all anthropological writing on cultural change, but curiously has not been: namely the role of women in cultural change. What seems like a conspiracy of silence on the subject has come about because of a greater concentration on processes than on personnel. Redfield, Kroeber, and many of their students have concerned themselves with such topics as innovation, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, and so on, but have for the most part left the impression that these were realms of male activity. Such a misconception arose from a simplistic view of the role of women in alien societies. Indeed, in many of the societies studied it was difficult for male anthropologists to conduct extensive interviews with female informants: the view of female roles was thus to some extent a paraphrase of what male informants within the society saw those female roles to be.... And of course they were commonly stated to be woman as mother, woman as housekeeper, woman as trader, woman as agriculturist; more rarely, woman as politician or as lover. But woman as disciplinarian, poet, philosopher or innovator were topics scarcely ever touched in the cultural change literature. In the Badaga case it seems likely that while men did innovate in such areas as ritual and animal husbandry, women were commonly the innovators in therapy and midwifery, while both sexes probably had a role to play in the extensive agricultural and social innovations that followed upon their settlement on the Nilgiris.

1.13. For convenience we will now summarize very briefly the range of therapeutic practices that are to be described below in Chapters 5-8.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Lovers and Prostitutes

582 (178) (626) 3.6. Badaga girls used to be married shortly after puberty and youths in their late adolescence. Various social pressures, most importantly the new educational requirements, have increased these ages until today a girl gets married at about 16 and a young man in his early 20s. Since births are not registered it is possible for parents to claim their daughter is older than she really is at marriage: recent legislation about age at marriage (18 for girls, 21 for men) might sometimes prompt them to do so.

836 (562) One effect of this raising of the appropriate age for marriage has been an increase in premarital sex activity among male youths. The corresponding phenomenon does not seem to have occurred among the girls, however; quite the opposite, in fact. I was told that a "double standard" has recently appeared, in that if an unmarried man is known to be having an affair he is not thought badly of, whereas if a young woman does so she is mocked by other villagers and considered very immoral. This development has come about since mid-century because of changing attitudes towards pregnancy. In earlier days an unmarried girl would have affairs without any great fear of pregnancy, because she knew that if she did become pregnant she could go before the village council, name the father, and he would be forced to marry the girl concerned. She only had to assert that a man was the father and he would have to marry and support her — even if he already had a wife. Should a man refuse to accept the council's decision on the matter he could be outcasted and ordered out of the village, his property divided among his brothers, and a share of it given to support the pregnant girl. This, rather than an abortion, was the normal procedure. Today an unmarried woman is very circumspect even if she has reached the age of 30. She knows that a ruined reputation can spoil her chances of an advantageous marriage, and the village council has little power to force a wayward man into marrying or supporting her today.

836 843 (623) (692) (584) 178 836 581

836 582 3.7. As with much else in Indian social organization, there is a hierarchy in the frequency and acceptability of extra-marital sexual partners, as outlined below.

(*a*) Most frequently chosen is a girl related as affine to a boy; they are a couple who might later marry without offence. Usually this means the girl would have to be of the same phratry but a different clan, and live in a different village from the boy's. If the parents

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

from Burliyar.

The cure for this ailment should preferably begin on the auspicious days Friday, Sunday or Tuesday. If the need is urgent it can also start on a Monday or a Wednesday; but never a Thursday or Saturday. The curing is done every night for at least three days, and it may continue till the fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh day from the start. Usually the cure is done twice nightly; but if the case is very serious it will be done three times a night, at about 1900 hrs., midnight, and 0500 hrs. The curing can begin right after sunset, but it is generally started later, after supper. It is done at night because the house must remain closed throughout, including all windows.

When the therapist brings all the medical materials he has collected, he hides them somewhere in the bus nearby rather than bring them straight to the patient's house. These materials must not be brought near children, not because the children are impure, but because some of the plants are probably poisonous and the Indian willow is hallucinogenic.

Before he starts in the evening the women clean the house and sprinkle liquid cowdung on the floor. If there is any meat in the house it should be taken out before the cleaning begins. As the sickness is caused by a god, the people present while it is being treated must be pure. For this reason no women are allowed to stay, except those who ceased menstruation at least 12 years before. No children under 18 are allowed to stay either, "because they may be affected by some bad smell," and contract the disease. None of the men present should smoke during the night either. One of them may be allowed to go into the bathroom and urinate or smoke, but only if his need is great.

Only when all the women and children have left for the night does the therapist go and bring the hidden plants into the house. The door is then shut behind him, and must not be opened again

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

gingly of the elderly: "After becoming aged one's greed increases;" more sarcastic ones on the same theme are these: "As greed increases, the lifetime lessens," "As mist catches onto a peak, so her vilest characteristics catch hold of an old woman," and again, "Is it medicine for old age, like advice for a bad time?" This latter one refers to the belief that there is no further need for medicine when a person is old, just as a bad man is beyond need of advice. (The general world for all kinds of medicine, *maddu*, is used in this last proverb; it also means "magical potion," "opium" and "poison," however).

9.2. The general attitude towards adult women is not a charitable one: it is succinctly summed up in the saying, "The man knows the nature of others; his wife is an expert in cooking." In contrast to this, though, the status of women is never higher than in old age, and in a few cases old ladies have been members of the otherwise all-male village councils. The Lingayat Badagas in fact treat a post-menopausal woman as a man; but most Badagas do not, for if orthodox they still prohibit an old woman from eating or drinking in the inner and most sacred parts of the house. No ceremonies mark the occurrence of menopause; but Lingayat women are often given a *Linga* symbol to wear after it has occurred.

9.3. Older people have friends in their own village, but not elsewhere because of the difficulty they have in getting around. They select friends of equal age, and hence similar memories; but whether or not the friends are equally well-to-do seems unimportant. A pair of widows or else a pair of widowers are commonly good friends; and provided they are very old, even a widow and a widower can be close friends, treating each other as fictive brother and sister, without other villagers misinterpreting the relationship. Again, if they are extremely elderly, two men and their two wives may treat each other as *four* brothers. Then there is nothing scandalous about an old man sitting with the wife of his friend and talking to her for hours. In contrast with this, an old man with a young wife will not be particularly friendly with another old man whose wife is elderly.

9.4. It is believed that if a man wears gold his lifetime will lengthen. If on the other hand he sees two crows in the act of sexual congress, he will die within a year. An elderly man receives this information calmly; but a younger man will try to avoid his fate by counteracting the omen. This is done by going to a hill above a neighbouring hamlet, and shouting out to the villagers that he—mentioning himself by name—is dead. As he is careful that no one

632 (615) When a festival has to be organized that only concerns perhaps one of the phratries resident in a "village", the relevant hamlets call together their own multi-hamlet committee to handle the matter without calling upon the "village" headman to organize the celebration. It is only for festivals that concern nearly all of the hamlets that he will take charge of the organization. No festivals are celebrated 619 796 jointly by a division, or by the whole Nilgiri population, largely because the distances to be traveled are too great and the number of participants would be unmanageably large. Funerals are always treated as public ceremonies, and weddings quite often are. 796 Other life-cycle ceremonies can be treated as public ones, but very (621) rarely are. In any case, when a life-cycle ceremony is treated as a public celebration, it is only celebrated in the hamlet of the people most closely concerned. Personal ceremonies are not celebrated at the "village" or any higher level. (This does not of course preclude inviting visitors from other "villagers" or divisions.)

623 (622) The headman does not make the arrangements for these various celebrations of his own accord. His hamlet generally has a council for settling disputes, and also a festival committee consisting of the priests and a few elderly men. The latter not only organize festivals, but occasionally may plan to build a new temple or propitiate an uncooperative deity. (Arrangements for life-cycle ceremonies, unlike public festivals, are mainly in the hands of the family concerned.) The elders on the hamlet council are generally different individuals than those on the (1428) festival committee; this is a convenient division of the labor involved. But in either (562) case the positions are quite often hereditary, and are never held by women. The (888) elders are typically the older males of all lineages represented in a hamlet; it is they who are in the best position to enforce council decisions among all of their

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas]; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 •562 (554) gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is considerable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are re-
(561) garded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

562 582 602 generation level of a woman is that of her husband, however, and can change as she marries successive husbands from different generations. It is supposedly possible for a single Badaga man to marry, either concurrently or sequentially, a woman and her daughter and her mother. All three co-wives would attain the generation level of their husband by this marriage. The Badaga outlook towards women is one that permits marriages even between hierarchically ranked sibs without there arising any thought of hypergamy being advantageous and hypogamy reprehensible. Such an attitude, let it be noted, is most unusual for an Indian society.

582 No Badaga should marry a girl related to him as a classificatory sister; that is, a mother's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter. Nor should he marry a girl related to him in a similar way, though the connection goes back a generation further: mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, or else father's father's brother's son's daughter. Nor may a man marry his sister's daughter, a marriage permitted among some jatis elsewhere in South India. The general rule is that two people must not marry if they are in any way related through either a pair of brothers or a pair of sisters. The normal kinds of marriage are therefore with cross-cousins, either a father's sister's daughter or a 604 mother's brother's daughter. However, because the mother's brother plays a very important part in a man's religious and social development, and because there is a great deal of interaction between him and his sister's son, it is felt that the mother's brother's daughter is more closely related to a man than his father's sister's daughter is. Amongst Badagas it is therefore generally thought that marriage with the father's sister's daughter is the best arrangement possible; not because a marriage with the mother's brother's daughter would in any sense be closer to incest, but simply because it would probably lead to a certain amount of quarreling

582 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a prtcedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
262 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
• 562 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's
614 dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal- (783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

262 562 614 (753) not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Kari 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Tignous 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

574 614 [186] Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggunis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

614 582 (162) The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(558) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his
brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four
annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately
handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his
indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule
making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members
thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(558) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they
are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
554 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it
593 regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his
(425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if
613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
518 stake; few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

234 pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified
778 butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used
(793) in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals
(237) or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and
(372) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are pollut-
(262) ing, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However,
(562) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at
(783) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive
buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed
793 sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat
(262) while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege-
(431) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors
or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

796 The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in
(788) mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their
Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also
(562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred
(293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any-
(262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the
(784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by
Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season
(793) (karbokam) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive.
(241) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility
(842) cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal
361

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

342 between the front room and kitchen (oramanai) is typically arched. Over the kitchen fireplace, opposite the door, there is usually a flat 251 353 woven bamboo and cowdunged drying basket measuring three or more feet across. This is especially useful for drying grains during monsoons. Near the front kitchen wall there may be a sacred hagotu for milk storage and processing, but many houses no longer have this feature. (562) If a hagotu is absent, the front portion of the kitchen is still considered sacred and for men only. An upper storage platform (atlu) 342 usually covers all or a portion of the kitchen. This and small upper storage platforms covering portions of the front room are reached by a ladder which is sometimes set permanently into the central wall with arched door. As in Jagor's time, there is usually a porch to one side of the entranceway. The calf stall on the other side is now replaced by a porch, guest room with or without a fireplace, or a storeroom. Thus, if there is a right entranceway, there will be a porch to the right, and one of the above-mentioned features will replace the stall to the left. This relationship is exactly reversed when there is a left entranceway.

(565) The traditional house type may be modified. Poorer families, or individuals sharing the inherited parental home, may dwell within half-houses formed by sealing in the arched doorway of the central partition. Two arched doorways are then built into two walls constructed about three-fifths the interior distance back from the front wall. The small back rooms will serve as kitchens (Figure 17). Sometimes the basic floor plan is maintained, but the house is so enlarged that its front and back walls no longer are aligned with walls

121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that [241] in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers [539] when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* [462] ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 416 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar- 582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage 881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in 462 the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on [885] marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, [562] and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made [851] especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and 562 it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge 591 which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

become householders—in their natal villages, that is. Women are never expected to make such decisions. Hence patrilocality is a principle of survival, a fact which is reinforced by the phenomenon of repeated divorces that might take one woman in her lifetime as a bride to two or three different villages, in each of which she would be something of a novice with regard to the local ecological conditions.

For a male, membership of his father's lineage—whether maximal, major, minor, or minimal—is inalienable. There may nowadays be little or no assertion of the solidarity of an individual with his lineage during his entire lifetime, but yet the tie remains. Some lineages do however still maintain in common a herd of buffaloes.

For females the descent situation is rather less clear. A woman at marriage joins the family and hence the lineage of her husband. This connection is not inalienable, on the other hand, for divorce may easily rupture it. The term for affines *(nantan-natta)* is applied by a man's family to all of his wife's natal family and lineage; it is similarly applied to all the agnatic relatives of any potential wife. This is a commonplace in Dravidian kinship systems. Among Badaga women we also find that a wife calls her own parents and brothers *nantan*, and in anticipation of a certain married future may even use this term in reference to them while she is still a small, unmarried girl, just as her potential husbands would.

3. The Affines

The community based on patrilocal residence is a moral entity in which deference is enforced by authority. Relationships with one's agnates are always extensive and carefully maintained, and this contrasts with the narrowness of affinal relationships. The two categories are further differentiated in behaviour by the fact that a male can be fined by the village headman if he does not show the proper respect due to an agnate, and primarily to a member of his own village; but there is no fine for lack of respect to an affine.

Badagas have a saying, "There is no relationship among affines." This simply means that Ego does not always recognize generation levels among his affines. What *is* important, here as elsewhere in the kinship realm, is the age differential. Take, for example, the unexpected situation (Diagram 1) of

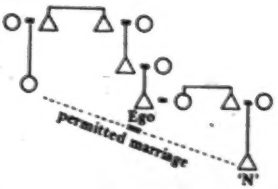

Diagram 1

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5. Adoption and Inheritance

428 Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

182 428 (582)

428 763 [212] Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish (*sa:la*) in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

428 There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

(736) (764) (593)

125 115 In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

423 562

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TABLE 1
Badaga House Ownership

	Adult males	Adult females
Owns no home, or shares part of one with other relatives	61.8%	72.3%
Owns 1 house	18.9%	13.4%
Owns 2 houses	6.6%	3.4%
Owns 3 houses	3.0%	
Owns 4 houses	2.7%	4.2%
Owns 5-9 houses		0.8%
Owns 10-29 houses	0.3%	0.8%
"Owns 30 or more houses"/d.k.	6.6%	5.0%
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

the men, a fact that is explained by the presence of some uncared-for widows in the sample, and also some unmarried daughters who did not feel like saying they "owned" their fathers' houses.

If a well-to-do man has built a subsidiary house somewhere, that one can be inherited by his eldest son. Failing that, the family home which is inherited and thenceforth owned by the youngest son may still be partitioned between his brothers. They would then be expected to give some rent or property to him in return.

Property is impartible until the owner's death, and then land is to be divided equally between his male heirs. The agreement on partition of the land has to be written down and signed by the beneficiaries. Each gets a registration document *(patta)* from the state government, attested by the village accountant. For partition of other moveable property no documentation is called for: the beneficiaries simply agree to the division in the presence of the headman and some village council members. Occasionally a sick old man may choose to arrange the division amongst his sons while he is still alive.

If a man should happen to die when his wife is pregnant, his property will not be divided until after the delivery; and if a son is born, he too will become one of the inheritors. Thus a young widow will be watched by her husband's relatives for a month after her bereavement to see that she menstruates. They then declare that she is not pregnant, thereby ensuring that she does not afterwards try to pass off an illegitimate son as an heir

81 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

add, "It's the same name as his." She does not even refer to her husband by the standard kin term, *gaṇḍa*, but instead says *en mane avoka*, "my housekeeper." [601] [551] [593]

The Badagas display what Murdock (1949: 223-236) has termed a Dakota-type terminology. They have the Iroquois terminology (bifurcate merging), which emphasizes Ego's lineage by: (1) equating father and his brothers (*appa*) but separating off mother's brothers (*mamma*); (2) equating mother and her sisters (*auve*) but separating off father's sisters (*mammi*). The Iroquois bifurcate-merging cousin terminology specifically separates out the cross-cousins who can be married (FZD—*mammi heṇṇu;* MBD—*mamma heṇṇu*) from the sisters (eZ—*akka;* yZ—*amme*) and parallel cousins (FBD—*akka, amme*, and MZD—*doḍḍa auve heṇṇu* [e] or *sikka auve heṇṇu* [y]) whom one cannot marry. By calling Ego's Z and FBD by the same terms, Ego's patrilineage is also emphasized. Dakota-type terminology also assumes patrilineages and patriclans which, as already stated, the Badagas possess.

It should be noted that the generational level within the agnatic group is extremely important. This importance is stressed even to the extent that if Ego's DD is married to a man related as "F" to Ego, then she has to be treated as a "M" by Ego. And if ZD marries a "F" relation to Ego then she is considered "M" to Ego even though he is *guru* to her. Females automatically assume the generation levels of the men they marry. In the example illustrated (Diagram 4), if 'A' marries 'B', which may happen if 'A' is younger than 'B', then she calls 'C' "father's wife," not "brother's daughter." [885] [562]

Diagram 4

The same general principle is illustrated by another possible though hypothetical situation. In Diagram 5, 'B' marries 'C' and later dies, leaving her with several sons. The widow 'C' is then encouraged to marry 'A', probably a widower himself. If she has a son 'D' by him, then 'D' is one generation senior to 'E', 'F', and 'G', although he is younger than any of them. 'E' thus has to call 'D' "father." Later at the inheritance of 'A's' property, 'D' gets one half of it, while the other half is shared by 'E', 'F', and 'G'.

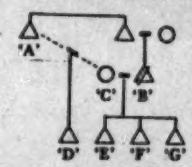

Diagram 5

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali (Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District. Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry, and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall called *Edirmané*,—front house. The

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342 roof of it is well planked, and over it is another small room called *Mêlâdu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Badagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Badagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Badaga house.

352 The Badaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Badaga.

121 We shall now describe the Badaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

852 In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his [551] birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then

881 the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Badaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Badaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of

[542] worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred

[838] from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hoye* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hoye*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hoye*

[174] is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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763 564 payment. They are the lowest of the Baḍaga castes and are regarded as the sons of the five high castes. As soon as the Toraya who carries the sad news approaches a Baḍaga village he removes his turban, so that the very sight of a Toraya without a turban on his head is a sign that he is bringing tidings of death, and the people gather round him at once and hear the news.

535 764 (648) (715) The Kôtas, the hill-musicians, come down now with their shrill music. Then a curious dance commences and the more vehement the dance, the happier it is thought will be the soul of the departed in its transit to the other world. It lasts from morning to evening, and Torayas and Baḍagas including the near relatives of the dead Baḍaga take part in the dance. No woman mingles in the funeral dance if the dead person is a man, but if the deceased [562] is a woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the dead, takes part in it. This is as it were a notice to the mourners who come to join in the funeral as to whether the dead person is a man or a woman. If no woman is seen in the party of dancers the visitors infer before reaching the house that it is a man that is dead, while if they see a woman among the dancers they know that it is the funeral of a woman that is being performed. Only Torayas mix (648) in the dance with the Baḍagas. The Kôtas who are the musicians on this occasion are not allowed to do so, for they are considered to be of inferior, in fact, of the very lowest position. Some of the men that take part in the dance wear a curious long coat. When one has danced for a considerable time, he takes off the robe and hands it over to someone else who continues the exercise till he too has had enough of it. Whether this special dress has any peculiar significance I cannot say at present. 764 The Torayas then fetch green boughs and twigs from the neighbouring *sholas* and a car five feet long, three feet broad and eight feet high is constructed. When everything is ready all the people assembled go and show their (564) respect for the corpse by touching it on the head. The Torayas alone touch the feet and worship the departed Baḍaga, an indication that they are rather servants than equals of the departed. The corpse is then brought out of the house to a cot placed outside. The agnatic kindred then wash it by pouring water over it and decorate it. Already preparations have been made for a grand feast and before the removal of the corpse every one eats (774) his dinner, except perhaps the nearest relatives of the dead. This is to our ideas a most repulsive custom, and the only defence in favour of it is the belief they have that this feast refreshes the